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HISTORY-as-ACTUALITY
or
A Spurious Sketch of Old Sturbridge 1756-1830[1]

By Catherine Fennelly*

Old Sturbridge Village, today a tiny but significant institution on the historical scene, only two short centuries ago was a wilderness of forest trees, decaying swamps, degenerate Indians, and eroded soil of so little value it had never been worth the while of any speculative group to develop it or of the Massachusetts General Court to grant lands within its area. In 1749, however, the Privy Council and Board of Trade, feeling that some sop must be thrown to the colonials who had dared score over the British Regulars in the capture of Louisburg, required the Bay Colony to make a series of grants to its veterans of that campaign, and thus Old Sturbridge Village was founded.

The town was incorporated in 1755, the last of a long line of bridge incorporations in that year. By the terms of the charter given to its proprietors, it was required to build and maintain a school, a pest house, a poor house, a meeting house, and a tippling house, in addition to such colonial necessaries as houses, barns, pounds, covered bridges, pottery shops, and clock museums. Its growth was unique in the history of Massachusetts Bay, in that while its population doubled in the first ten years of its existence, jumping from 53 in 1755 to 106 to the year of the Stamp Act, and to well over the 2,000 mark in 1815, yet by the end of its existence in 1830 it had had only 5 residences, two of which had been built before the Village's incorporation, and one of which was destroyed in a disastrous flood in 1814.

The Village's growth was much like that of any other rural New England community of its day. So well aware seemed the inhabitants of their far distant future as an historical shrine with a fine environmental consciousness that they fulfilled their economic purpose by clogging their river banks with grist mills, saw mills, linseed oil mills, rum mills, carding mills, and other concomitant phenomena of the industrial revolution. Every one of these industrious Yankee farmers, and they were all farmers, busied himself in winter and every week day evening in his shop or at his household forge—turning out with little thought and less care the quantities of ox yokes, broom corn brushes, straw bonnets, handcut nails, wooden ladles, windsor chairs, gun stocks, whistles, and nutmegs that we prize so highly today as examples of Yankee art and ingenuity. Thus, he

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[1] Presented before the New England Association of American Studies at Old Sturbridge on October 22, 1955.

justified himself as a solver of methodological problems. His wife and daughters busied themselves in the houses—there they produced hoards of children, pumpkin pies, Indian puddings, quilted coverlets, and the sterling New England character that invariably traveled westward.

Their culture and social pattern was unique, the backbone of the region's strength. Mostly the inhabitants lived in large families—they had to with only 5 houses—with here and there a crabbed spinster, a retired veteran of some privateer battle (sometimes called by the children a pirate) and the Village genius or idiot, whichever one may care to consider him. The Revolution affected them but little—the men went off to fight in short skirmishes, never outside Massachusetts, while the women and boys stayed at home to tend the cattle and crops and weave the thousands of yards of homespun that came just short of clothing the Continental Armies. After the war, times were hard in the Village. The level of musical culture declined as all the best singers were dislocated after the Peace of Paris or lost their interest in culture at a more harmonoius level. Tax rates were so high the school could keep open only one month in twelve, and the minister of the First Church had a hard time keeping his family in food, so few and far between were the rate payments in kind. The incident of Shays' Rebellion found the people wholly on the side of revolt against authority, so bitter were they against the wealth and indifference of the Boston mob, already clearly stratified in their minds as a prime example of the rigidity of the Puritan social structure.

With the adoption of the Federal Constitution, economic conditions improved, and with the appearance of a stable national government came a new national and provincial price in the village. Notably in the 1790's farmers sitting at their firesides on cold winter evenings now whittled out gilded eagles, drank their meager rations of Medford rum from flasks molded in a stars and stripes design, and determined to name their eldest son George, whether in honor of the new President or hatred of the old king, they were not quite sure. Agriculture picked up somewhat with the opening of the turnpike roads; the Boston-Hartford Stage now stopped off once a week; a new carding mill and slitting mill opened on the Quinebaug. Farmers now had some leisure. Evenings, after lecture, they gathered at the Tavern to pass the flip glass and cider mug and to debate the burning issues of the day—whether or not in their new house furnishings they were crudely imitating their betters of Boston and Newport, or whether they were developing a truly rural and primitive artistic consciousness; whether the interchangeable parts of the apple corers and swifts they had made for their wives were harbingers of a future technology of mass production; whether the squire's new house, the obvious descendant of the manor house their fathers had known back in England, was a conscious esthetic endeavor to import the embellishments of the

metropolis; where the dialectical materialism of the local blacksmith would lead his soul and those of his family; whether the psychological and utilitarian frame of reference from which they governed themselves in town meeting would earn for them the opprobrious epithet of objective relativists or, still worse, of functional institutionalists, by future historians of their era and area—all these questions they debated as the hours advanced and the spirits drained lower in the taps and barrel.

At home the women folk, with the aid of itinerant peddlers and painters, went busily to work adding their quaint touches to this new rural community life—a riot of color on their stenciled or free-painted walls, gay rag carpets on their floors, painted shades at their windows, painted furniture in their rooms, all no doubt expressions of their repressed desire for personal beauty. As one may easily understand, the limited diet of these people resulted in a high incidence of color blindness and emigration.

Sociologists know that a community is only the aggregate of its parts, and Sturbridge had parts indeed. The Village squire was an American study in his own right. His wealth had come from land speculation and profiteering during the Revolution. His only son was now at Cambridge preparing for a career in the State legislature. A child of the Enlightenment, the squire showed his love for the village in public-spirited works. He had built its most recent school house, complete with stove; he had persuaded the chapter of the Cincinnati to which he belonged to hold its annual meeting and dinner in the local tavern. He fought bitterly for the area in the State senate, of which he was a member, securing for the Village a toll road leading to Brimfield, its nearest rival for local trade—that the road benefited Brimfield by giving it much of the Sturbridge trade the Villagers were only dimly aware. In his passionate belief in private enterprise and laissez-faire, he pushed through the charter for a new bank in nearby Monson, a bank that would soon fail through overspeculation in canal stock. In order to give his fellow villagers a chance to become as wealthy as he, he promoted every possible lottery scheme that appeared before the legislature and even sold tickets himself through the area. So deeply imbedded in him was the humanitarian impulse, and so easily recognized by all, that whenever he strolled through the village on one of his multifarious errands, small children and dogs would follow him, each to be patted on the head and handed a piece of the stale gingerbread he kept in the folds of his capacious great coat.

His wife and daughters set the social tone of Old Sturbridge Village. They were culture-carriers, leaders in the new school, closely allied to romanticism, that might be termed nostalgic melancholia. The mere mention of the words France, sans-culottes, fraternite, sent them into a deep swoon, so horrified were they at the savagery and bloodthirstiness of the French Revolution. They were interested in the ladylike arts of needle-

work, painting, and reading poetry, and their favorite subjects were disease, desolation, and death. The walls of the mansion house rooms were adorned with watercolor and needlework pictures of women weeping over the urn-topped tombs of lovers, husband, and child. Their favorite heroine was Eliza Wharton, over whose sad fate and early death they wept copiously. And as leaders of this tear-stained movement they influenced every woman in the Village, so that the frequent gatherings, the tea parties, quilting parties, sewing bees, and such were occasions for wholesale enjoyment of the purgative effect of tears and sobs.

The direct antithesis of the squire's wife and daughters and their social rival was Mistress Busyness, the minister's spouse and a doer of good works. She it was who organized the Sunday School movement, got together a group to sew for the Indian missions, ran the poor-house in her spare moments, started a Female Charitable Cent Society to support the church in Illinois, and militantly guarded and directed the moral welfare of every man, woman, and child in the Village. She kept a little list of transgressors against every possible law of God and the church, and was careful to remind each sinner of all his past misdeeds and the dire fate that awaited him. Woe betide the villager who failed to appear at Sunday meeting unless he was lucky enough to be at death's door and indeed departed life within a few days. Rumor had it that this sweet-tongued lady had hastened many a departure from this vale of tears by her mere presence at a deathbed. The stocks were the least punishment to be feared by any young girl loose enough to engage in courting on the Sabbath, and Mistress Busyness openly and vehemently advocated the whipping post for young lads who robbed orchards and polluted wells just for fun.

Her husband was the village saint, the minister loved, respected, and quarrelled with by all. His Sunday sermons were models of rhetoric—each calculated to raise the hair and mend the ways of all listeners. But once his weekly duty was over, he then became the beloved pastor of the Village, teaching the older boys, catechizing the children, advising the young people about to be married, and giving wise counsel to parents and the sick. So well did his people appreciate his interest and services that they denounced his theology, organized a Unitarian church, refused to pay his salary, accused him before the County Association of being a tippler, profaner, free-will visionary, and a proponent of the new music, and each year invited a younger man to replace him. The minister invariably refused to go.

The store keeper and tavern keeper were brothers and genial men. The brothers Brown between them divided up the town offices of first and second selectman, town clerk, sealer of weights and measurers, constable, and tax collector. The duties with no prestige but much work of hog reeve, surveyor of the highway, and pound keeper they manipulated so

they went to their enemies on the Board of Selectmen and School Board. The squire, as justice of the peace and quorum, maintained a benevolent jurisdiction over all. Jim Brown, the tavern keeper, also had the sawmill and linseed oil mill. The rates he charged were so exorbitant the villagers brought in another saw mill in order to provide a little healthy competition as well as to fulfill their historical function as proponents of laissez-faire and the entrepreneur system. William Brown, the store keeper, was also postmaster, and enjoyed reading the mail and keeping tabs on all his fellow townspeople.

The blacksmith combined under his blackened garb all the vices and errors so loathed by early 19th century New England: he was a deist, he denounced baptism and all the other sacraments, he discoursed long and earnestly (while his anvil overheated) on the ridiculousness of literalism, on the scientific discoveries that made of new-light Congregationalism a mockery, on the rights of women, the necessity for a more liberal divorce law, and all the other issues anathema to the New England conscience. Indeed, it was whispered of him that he had no conscience at all, and as for blacksmithing, the products of *his* forge had much the character of their maker.

The schoolmaster—well, the less said of him the better. Unable and unwilling to pay a decent wage, the villagers hired a dipsomaniac and fine example of Gestalt psychology, unable to hold down any other job. His lack of education was no barrier to his teaching, and his pupils learned their letters and their numbers in the fine tradition of New England district school education.

The War of 1812 changed this happy village but little. The profits that accrued to William Brown from his smuggling activities in bringing down goods by land from Canada enabled him to set up a new cloth finishing mill that soon became a cotton and woolen spinning mill and that crashed gloriously in 1815. The young robbers of the squire's apple orchards went off to war, and most of them never returned—they, in turn, raised their families in Winesburg, Ohio, and Evanston, Illinois. The Village lawyer, Jonas Fitch, Esqr., sensed the trend of the times and moved his family to Maine.

The years after this last war with England saw the gradual decline and disappearance of Old Sturbridge Village. There were brief moments of surging life again—as when the temperance movement made two and a half converts, the Quakers built and populated a meeting house in spite of all efforts to drive them out, the town meeting having read in a stray newspaper of the Missouri Compromise, voted flatly against the holding of slaves although there had never been one in the village, an insane asylum was erected nearby and was well populated with villagers—but by and

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Copernicus, Newton, Einstein and You Create a Universe

By Donald Tilton*

This brief and perhaps superficial survey is an attempt to trace the major aspects of man's concepts of the Universe developed in Europe since the end of the Middle Ages. The point of departure is the heliocentric theory of the universe contained in Copernicus's volume *Concerning the Revolutions of The Heavenly Bodies*, published in 1543, the year of his death. Although the idea that the sun rather than the earth was the center of the universe had been presented by Aristarchus in the third century B.C., it was not accepted by Claudius Ptolemaeus (mathematician, astronomer and geographer of the second century A. D.) whose astronomy and geography were almost universally accepted for more than a thousand years. When the Polish born Copernicus studied in Italy towards the close of the 15th century, dissatisfaction with the Ptolemaic geocentric concept had already affected the teaching of Novara, who seems to have influenced Copernicus in thinking in terms of an heliocentric universe. Copernicus's achievement was to convert this bare idea into a fully developed concept of the universe, with the planets revolving around the sun in concentric orbits, each one a perfect circle, with the sun in the center. To what extent Copernicus was acquainted with the theory of Aristarchus is questionable; likewise questioned is the old wive's tale that Copernicus was really a sun worshipper and felt that the sun was after all the center of the universe. What is more certain is that his view did explain more of the behavior of the planets and stars than the previously dominant view that the earth was the center, and certainly this new scheme of his had an appeal in its symmetry and simplicity.

This new intellectual structure was accepted by Galileo (1564-1642), whose work with a primitive form of the telescope added credibility to it, and by Kepler (1571-1630) who modified it. Kepler, using the observational data gathered by Tycho Brahe (1546-1601) and additional data he himself collected as Brahe's successor, came to the conclusion that the earth and other planets moved not in concentric circles, but in elliptical orbits, and that the sun was not actually in the center of these ellipses. This idea was contained in his work on the *Laws of Planetary Motion*, which also postulated that the earth and other planets in revolving in their orbits did not travel at uniform velocities; rather, as their elliptical paths brought them nearer to the sun, their speed increased, and as they travelled further away from the sun, their speed decreased. These

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concepts, of course, called for further elaboration and more complete explanation and new concepts.

The seeming culmination of this process, at least for the layman for about two centuries, appeared in the law of universal gravitation enunciated by Newton who was born in the year of Galileo's death (1642). Newton's theory was first published in 1686 in the first volume of his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*, commonly referred to as the *Principia*. Perhaps too simply paraphrased it stated that the entire universe, not only persons and particles on the earth, but also the earth itself and the other planets, moons, stars, and sun, were attracted to each other by a force directly proportional to the product of their masses and inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them, easily stated in the form of a mathematical equation. Simple, but stupendous, and surely even more stupendous in its implications than in its direct statements. The great plan of the universe could be stated in purely mathematical terms, and probably only in those terms. The orbit of the earth could be accounted for, and the variations in its velocity as well; the very position of the earth at any given instant could be plotted, just as a ship's position at sea could be, for the earth was pulled from one field of gravitational force to another. Newton's concept implied that complete order and harmony existed throughout the entire solar system. "It was the first demonstration, on a grand scale, of the mathematical machine aspect of Nature's processes, and inspired scientific men to extend this reign of law to cover all natural phenomena."

The interest of the scientific world in Newton's work is indicated by the appearance, prior to 1789, of some 18 editions or reprintings of the *Principia*, and the British universities were teaching the doctrine before the end of the 17th century. But interest was not limited to the learned academic circles. As Voltaire said, "Very few people read Newton because it is necessary to be learned to understand the book. But everybody talks about him." They could and did subscribe to the new philosophy without ever opening the formidable tomes—for they were well aware that he had uncovered the secrets of nature and of nature's God in a way that an earlier generation would have deemed almost indiscreet. They imbibed the new learning indirectly and undoubtedly inaccurately, for simplication is falsification, by the media of popular lectures and popular books which humanely omitted the mathematics. Bebore 1789 there appeared forty such books on Newton without effort in English, as well as seventeen in French, three in German, eleven in Latin, one in Portuguese, and one in Italian.

Western civilization was already started on the road to the determination of natural law with precision instruments, and scientists were the leaders. It was only a short step, but an inevitable step, from the

belief that the scientist could interpret the universe to the assumption that only the scientist could do this. This attitude was struck before the end of the Age of Reason; even music was subjected to the claims of science—e.g., in Boston about the end of the 18th century where apparently the Romantic reaction had not yet penetrated, a music critic wrote the highest praise he could of a concert performer:—"She sang scientifically."

If the reign of science, rationalism, reason, and mechanistic materialism suffered a temporary eclipse during that reaction against sheer intellectualism which goes under the name of Romanticism, it was only a temporary eclipse. The sun of Science would reappear from behind the moon of Romanticism, and did. Lyell, Darwin, Mendeleyev, and hosts of others contributed to the re-enthronement of the rational, materialistic, mechanistic concept of the universe in the 19th century. Lyell's work in geology (Volume I of the *Principles of Geology* appeared in 1830) showed that the earth had evolved slowly to its present state, perhaps over a period of millions of years—a marked contrast with the marginal note in an old family Bible that God finished the world at the end of a week's work, 3 P. M. Friday, October 25th, 4004 B. C. To lift a phrase from a lecture by Professor Schlesinger, "the Rock of Ages now gave way to the Age of Rocks." This work in geology was followed within a generation by the appearance of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859). If these works aroused a storm of controversy, they also left a net residual intellectual estate of a growing conviction that the universe was a well planned, orderly structure of matter, whose form and qualities could be examined and understood by the scientist and could be expressed in scientific terms.

But this was not all, for activities in other fields provided additional evidence of the orderly behavior of the universe. The French scientist Leverrier accounted for the apparent vagaries in the orbit of the planet Uranus by postulating the existence of another hitherto unknown planet (Neptune) whose existence was shortly verified by an Englishman named Adams (among others) in almost the exact location indicated. Likewise, the periodic table of chemical elements credited largely to the work of Mendeleyev, whose work on it, and additional studies, enabled him to postulate the existence of other rare elements subsequently discovered, e. g., Gallium (1871), Scandium (1879) and Germanium (1886).

Clearly, by this time science was vindicating itself, for to so many thinkers it seemed to have laid bare most of the secrets of the universe. There were, to be sure, a few more gaps to be filled, but we knew so much. The scientists had created such a convincing picture, such a perfect piece of machinery as an intellectual working model. The method was unquestionable—the method of the physical scientist; it was all so rational, so reasonable, and obviously so real. Surely the scientists had

created a universe—even if they thought they were only recreating it on paper.

While the pure scientist was thus revealing the nature of the physical universe, the applied scientists, engineers and other technicians were multiplying the sources, the varieties, and the amount of power for man's use, and the literate and especially the non-academic public was striving to grasp and assimilate the achievement of both. To the enormous physical, material universe was added a new, another universe of power: perhaps, as it seemed to the newspaper reading, and later to the radio listening layman, this was just another aspect of the same universe,—physical, material, mechanical, powerful. He also seemed to gather, possibly like his 18th century predecessors by means of painless presentations without benefit of technical training, that the psychologist in behaviorism and in psycho-analysis was interpreting man in a purely physical sense—every act and even every thought of man was purely physical (or chemical) reaction to a physical stimulus. It is impossible to ascertain how many, or what proportion of the people would have consciously admitted it, but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that most were acting as if the universe were a purely rational, physical, materialistic, mechanistic universe, working and being worked upon by sheer force. Was this the ultimate of Newtonian terrestrial and celestial mechanics?

To be sure, before the large scale application to industry and life of steam turbines, gasoline and diesel engines, and electricity, the pure scientists had advanced again and had reached what may be regarded by some as the parting of the ways. About the turn of the century, in 1901 to be precise, Hugo de Vries had formulated his "Mutation Theory" which pointed out that there appear sudden and unpredictable variations in heredity, putting an almost entirely new twist in what had been for more than a generation regarded as the clear, well ordered pattern of genetics. To be sure, this made Darwinian evolution somewhat more palatable—man now could obviously have evolved without benefit of passing through the stage of the great apes. In 1905 Albert Einstein began to publish his papers on relativity and about twenty years later Werner Heisenberg formulated his theory of indeterminancy.

It would seem that Newtonian mechanics had been built upon absolutes—space (three dimensional) and time. It also began to penetrate the layman's mind quite slowly that Einstein knew no absolutes except the speed of light—which, come what may, was always exactly 186,000 miles a second; distance, time, and mass were relative. That is, our measures of length and of time vary with motion, but there is no absolute motion —only relative. For example, "in estimating the speed of a motor car we take no account of the fact that the earth is rotating on its axis, that it is also revolving round the sun, and that the whole solar system is mov-

ing towards the star Vega. Even if we did take these motions into account we should be no nearer knowing the car's velocity 'in space,' for Vega is taking part in the general rotation of the galactic system and this system itself is moving relatively to others. However far we go we find nothing but relative motion." Perhaps the most widely accepted and respectable general theory of this entire universe is the "continuous creation" theory. This postulates that in contradistinction to the "big bang" or single original creation concept, the universe is continually growing, expanding and creating; and in the middle of last June there were as many million miles to the extent of the universe as there were nickels in the national debt.

At the other end of the scale it turns out also that when scientists like Heisenberg sought to weigh the mass and plot the path of electrons, they disturbed and distorted the one while they determined the other; or, when they determined the position they changed the velocity. A most curious result then ensues. We seem to have reached the point where we cannot be sure of the future behavior of the electron and hence of the atom; has scientific determinism given way before the free will of the atom? It is more than likely that what we seem to know about the predictable behavior of sizable lumps of matter is mere statistical effect: we are reminded of the teacher years ago who was able to square, at least to his own satisfaction, free will and predestination by the mathematical theory of probability.

How far have we come, then, from the more or less absolute universe of the Newtonian concept? We perhaps have created one much greater in scope, much more complex, much fuller of apparent contradictions, and much less certain. If the achievements of Newton meant that no longer could the Englishman go out in his garden in the cool of the evening and walk and talk with God, for God had seemingly been pushed thousands, nay millions of miles out in the universe, becoming in the eyes of the Deists scarcely more than the celestial sidewalk superintendent of a perfectly rational, scientific, materialistic, mechanistic universe—what then has been the result of the scientific work of the past half century? Have not the scientists created a universe that is limited in space, and yet infinite? If you can possibly grasp the idea of infinity, can you add to it the idea of it being limited without contradiction or even destruction? And yet this limited but infinite universe is expanding continually at an incredible velocity—as if some one were filling a cosmic balloon with a cosmic gas the way the toy balloon seller at the fair fills his wares from a tank of gas. And in this universe, all distance, all velocity, all mass are relative; with the exception of the speed of light there are no absolutes. The atom which was once daringly postulated as the ultimate hard core of matter, and was once real and perhaps absolute was eventually

broken down into smaller particles such as electrons whose behavior is not at all certain—which has in fact given rise to theories of indeterminancy and uncertainty. Now that the scientist has created a universe which he (at least for the present) cannot explain completely, has he in fact opened the door for others, not physical scientists, perhaps in fact the artist, the religious seer, to interpret some part? For the nearest the scientist seems to have been able to get to the absolute reality is relativity, indeterminancy and uncertainty. Some no doubt will yearn for the definiteness of the Newtonian formula and his rational and absolute, if mechanistic, materialistic universe.

Opportunities

Of special interest to all teachers of the social studies will be the meeting of the New England Association of Social Studies Teachers to be held at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, New Hampshire, on Saturday, May 12. The morning session is devoted to discussion of the College Entrance Examination Board Achievement Test in Social Studies by Henry W. Bragdon, professor of history at Phillips Exeter and long associated with the CEEB, and Richard G. King, Assistant Director of CEEB. The review of *College Board Scores, No.* 2, found on Pages 23-24, suggests some of the important findings that will be considered. At the luncheon meeting at the Exeter Inn issues of the 1956 Presidential Election will be presented by two New Hampshire political leaders, Judge William Treat, Chairman of the Republican State Committee, and Thomas J. McIntyre, Delegate to the Democratic National Convention.

Professor Franklin C. Roberts of Boston University will again conduct his interesting and stimulating study tour of New England, June 25 to July 6. Under the title of "Origins of New England, 1620-1820," this course in two weeks provides social studies teachers an unexcelled opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the historic wealth of early New England. Full information can be obtained from the School of Education.

The Workshop in Human Relations conducted by Professor Theodore I. Lenn at Teachers College of Connecticut, New Britain, June 26 - August 8, is designed for persons engaged in the various phases of education and in community relations, presenting for them the fundamental principles and practices in human relations. Careful consideration will be given to the various techniques that have proved most effective in coping with personal and group tensions.

New Manufacturers' Experiences in New England[1]

By Carmela Santoro*

Most New England communities are trying to get new manufacturing operations established in their area to help them grow and prosper. While encouraging expansion of existing firms, many communities seek to reduce dependence on a single manufacturer or a single industry by hunting for entirely new establishments. What are the most productive hunting grounds? Should they concentrate on obtaining new branch plants of existing manufacturers? Should they try to convince manufacturers in other areas to relocate in their town? Or should they bend their efforts to supporting the establishment and growth of entirely new firms?

Some of these questions are answered by reinterviews during 1954 and 1955 with firms established in the immediate postwar period. Eighty-nine of 106 concerns which established new operations in New England in the 1945-48 period were still in business in the region at the beginning of 1955. Two additional firms were also still in business, but had moved to New York City.

The original study included 42 entirely new manufacturing firms, 20 concerns which relocated in New England from other locations within or outside of New England, and 44 branch plants of existing concerns, some with headquarters within the region and others with main plants outside of New England.

According to the second survey, branch plants enjoyed the highest rate of success, followed by new firms and relocations in that order. Only three branch plants, or seven per cent of the number established in the region, had ceased operations by 1954-55. They had employed only 50 workers in 1948.[2]

Nine new firms employing 333 persons in 1948 had failed by 1954. This was a failure rate of 21 per cent of the new firms studied. Five of the nine new firms which failed were in the textile and apparel industries. In these industries there were special opportunities for new firms to meet

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* Head of the Social Studies Department, Warwick (R.I.) High School. The survey reported in this article was made under a fellowship of the Fund for the Advancement of Education, established by the Ford Foundation.

1 This article is reprinted with permission from the *Monthly Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, September, 1955.

2 See "Why Manufacturing Establishments Located in New England: August 1945 to June 1948" by George H. Ellis, *Monthly Review*, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, April, 1949. The procedure followed in the second survey was similar to that used in the original survey. Each of the 106 firms which could be located was approached personally and a confidential interview was held with the officials most responsible for selection of the New England location. Reliable information was obtained on 101 of the 106 firms originally studied.

pent-up postwar demands during the time period covered by the original survey. But the failure rate in these industries was higher than in most industries.

The record of the 20 relocated firms was the least successful in spite of their larger average size compared with the new firms. At least 335 jobs were lost by the failure of five relocated firms. Their failure rate of 25 per cent was the highest of the three categories.

It would be improper to conclude from this evidence about failures that geographic aspects of the locations selected were solely responsible for the variations in experience. One would naturally expect branch plants of established firms to exhibit a lower rate of failure than entirely new firms. The branches are parts of fully established enterprises with financial resources and staffs of men trained and experienced in production, finance, sales, personnel relations, and the other phases of the particular business. These concerns with several years of experience could often anticipate and avoid or overcome some of the difficulties of a new firm. New firms, however, have to build up such experience over time. In many new firms, the president had to perform several functions, such as production and sales manager, financier, purchasing agent, and accountant.

It is entirely proper to point out, however, that in general, most new firms based their location decisions largely on personal considerations arising out of their background. Many of these concerns did not give careful consideration to the selection of the best location for their operations. Most of the branch plants, on the other hand, selected their sites only after painstaking analysis of several location factors. Because of this, branch plants would be expected to encounter fewer unforeseen difficulties.

The concerns which relocated selected their sites by following a course between the pattern of the branch plants and that of the new firms. They might be expected to have a lower failure rate than entirely new firms because of this and because they had accumulated valuable experience and working relationships. The slightly higher failure rate among relocations than among new firms probably indicates that the relocating firms had problems not necessarily stemming from their geographic locations. They probably brought some of these problems with them when they shifted locations.

There also appeared to be a tendency among relocating concerns to be somewhat footloose. A majority of the firms which relocated chose the particular community in the area they had selected primarily because of the existence of suitable space in that community. Perhaps they would have fared better if they had given more detailed attention to other location factors.

Seventeen of the 106 concerns studied had ceased operations in New

England by 1955. What happened to them? Fifteen went out of business and two moved to New York City. Of the two removals, one had relocated in Connecticut from New York City in 1946. It returned to the city after three years because the distance from its market proved to be a great disadvantage and because it merged with another New York company which preferred a centralized organization. The other concern that moved was a new firm organized in Rhode Island. It reorganized when it moved to New York and changed its name and management. This firm could not be located for an interview—it had moved again without leaving a forwarding address.

Among the fifteen concerns that ceased operations, three were small branch plants that had been established to do special work or to take care of a temporary overflow. When the experiments were completed and the overflow no longer existed, the branches were closed.

It was difficult to obtain information regarding the reasons for failure among the new firms and relocations because persons associated with these firms could not always be found. No information could be obtained on five companies. Among the seven other concerns, the main reasons for failure were inexperienced management, inability to get new orders, unstable labor force, and inability to meet prevailing wage rates in the area.

FIRMS THAT GREW

Important changes have occurred since 1948 in most of the firms originally studied. As previously noted, 16 per cent of them are no longer in business in New England. Some of the others have grown, some have declined, and a few have remained about the same. Total employment in all the firms studied has increased from 13,595 to 23,757.

Nearly 60 percent of the 89 concerns which are still in business in New England have made progress in several fields, including employment. Fifty-three companies now employ more workers than they did in 1948, 16 employ about the same number, and 18 have suffered a decline in employment.

Branch plants have enjoyed the greatest rate of success. Sixty-eight per cent of the branch plants, 43 per cent of the new firms, but only 25 percent of the relocations now employ more workers than they did in 1948.

Branch plants also show the best record in employment changes, more than doubling their workforces between 1948 and 1954-55. Furthermore, only two firms in this group believe they have reached peak employment at these branches. The new firms now employ about 50 per cent more workers than they did in 1948, but the relocations have 8 per cent fewer employees.

FIRMS THAT DIDN'T GROW

Sixteen of the firms established in the 1945-48 period employed practically the same number of workers in 1954-55. While employment did not expand in these concerns, most of them added to or made improvements in their plant, equipment, and products and increased their gross sales.

Half of the concerns in this group are new firms, five are branch plants, and three are relocations. Part of the reason for lack of growth in many of the new firms lies in the philosophy of their presidents. Most of them are content with things about as they are—they are more concerned with earning a living and continuing their present pattern of life than with expanding. The branch plants and relocated firms, however, hope to grow larger in the future.

Eighteen firms now employ fewer workers than in 1945-48. Fourteen per cent of the new firms, 11 per cent of the branch plants, and 35 per cent of the relocations suffered a decline in employment. They are classified as companies which declined even though some made progress in other directions.

One of the main differences between the declining firms and the failing concerns is that the declining companies have analyzed the reasons for some of their problems and are trying to correct them. Some seem to be working out of their difficulties. None of these concerns is considering going out of business. Their managements exhibit considerable vigor and determination to succeed.

Poor management was the major reason for decline in all six new firms that contracted. Four of them are now under new ownership, while a fifth has reorganized. Only one of the five branch plants that contracted appeared to be in difficulty.

Three of the relocations which suffered a decline in employment are located in Massachusetts, three in Connecticut, and one in Rhode Island. Availability of suitable space and labor were the main reasons for all of these concerns shifting their locations. After they relocated, however, other problems arose—poor management, lack of attention to details, labor difficulties, lack of sales ability, higher distribution costs, and defective products.

The major reasons for failure of the 17 concerns no longer operating in New England have already been indicated as well as the reasons for lack of growth among those experiencing steady or declining employment. Of equal importance are the reasons for success among the firms which prospered and grew and the problems encountered by these concerns which selected New England locations.

The problems which arose most frequently revolved around faulty management, poor attitude and quality of labor, inadequate supervisory

personnel, defective products, poor sales policy, high transportation costs, inadequate facilities, high taxes, a shortage of capital, competition, and negative community attitudes.

The problems encountered were many and varied, but not insurmountable. Some of the problems arose from faulty selection of sites, but most of them were not related to the particular location of the firm. Large concerns generally either had fewer problems than smaller firms or could solve them more easily because of greater personnel and financial resources.

REASONS FOR SUCCESS

To try to determine why some concerns succeed while others fail, the companies which grew and expanded were asked, "To what do you attribute your success?" The reasons which were listed most frequently involved management ability, the quality of their products, and the attitude and quality of their workers. These were the same factors which were cited as the reasons for a decline or even failure of some companies.

Leadership ability and vigorous personalities of top management, thorough planning, knowledge of manufacturing skills, good marketing ability, a good product, and a well-trained conscientious workforce generally made for success.

A comparison of the factors dominating the location decisions of firms which grew with those of concerns which failed or declined shows some interesting differences. During the 1948 interviews, the 53 concerns which subsequently grew mentioned an average of 3.3 factors which played an important part in their location decisions. The 35 companies which ceased operations in New England or had a decrease in employment reported an average of 2.3 factors. This indicates that successful firms were more alert to the important location factors.

When the availability of materials, production relationships, and relationship through management connections played a dominant part in a firm's choice of location, the concern generally succeeded. Most of the firms reporting these factors as important, however, were branch plants. Among the concerns which based their location decisions on labor considerations, more than three succeeded for every one that failed. The availability of a suitable supply of labor was also mentioned most frequently by branch plants. Entirely new firms which based their location on market considerations were successful in four cases out of five. Marketing advantages of the location also generally resulted in success for branch plants, but not for relocations.

Locations in which personal considerations assumed an important role resulted in failure or declining employment more often that success. Relocations which allowed personal reasons to influence their choice of location were particularly likely to decline or fail. Locations of new firms

and relocations where the availability of a suitable plant played a dominant role also tended not to succeed.

MOST FIRMS WOULD STILL SELECT THE SAME LOCATION

Even though some firms encountered special problems related to their particular location, most of the firms were satisfied with their location decisions. Forty-five out of 75 concerns which answered the question, "If you had to make the same decision to locate now, would you choose the same site?" replied that they would. Most of the twenty firms which said they would not make the same choice today referred to the particular community in which they were located. They would still prefer a New England location.

Only five companies indicated that they would now choose a site outside of New England. In two of these cases mergers of the original firms were the major reasons for recasting their locational decisions. A desire to be closer to their sources of raw materials and high transportation costs would lead two other concerns to seek more central locations.

Eighty-six per cent of the remaining new firms are satisfied with their present sites, compared to 53 per cent of the branch plants and only 23 per cent of the relocations. The individuals who established new firms were generally of New England origin and this conditioned their locational decisions. In spite of the problems which have arisen and the difficulties which still remain unsolved for some of these firms, all except three have been satisfied with their site and would choose the same one today.

Ten branch plants and seven relocations indicated that they would probably select a different community now that they had in 1945-48. Transportation costs and other factors related to transportation facilities, taxes, and traffic congestion were the major factors which would lead branch plants to reconsider their location decisions. Two branches needed cheaper electric power. Although several firms deplored the "poor attitude" of labor, only one singled out union activity as the major factor in reconsidering its location decision.

Difficulties in expanding at the present site influenced two relocations. Many of the relocations which said that they were not satisfied with their present locations had been unable to solve some of their problems, several of which centered around labor considerations. In appraising the reasons for dissatisfaction given by the relocations it is well to remember that these concerns had not been satisfied at their former locations.

CONCLUSIONS

This study indicates that branch plants are generally a better bet for communities looking for new manufacturers than entirely new firms or

relocations. Branch plants had a lower rate of failure, a larger proportion of firms which increased employment, a higher rate of employment growth, and a larger proportion of firms which expected to add workers in the future than the new firms or relocations. Branch plants also tended to have fewer problems than the other types of concerns. In addition, they generally had larger financial and personal resources than new firms and relocations, which enabled them to more easily solve problems which arose.

A community's chances for creating permanent new jobs by attracting entirely new firms also appear to be good, particularly if the new firms are given every assistance possible. A larger proportion of new firms than of branches or relocations were satisfied with their present locations. For smaller communities which don't have a large labor supply, or which are seeking only small or medium-sized employers, new firms seem especially desirable.

In searching for new business, communities should carefully examine the quality of management, for this was the factor that was most important in determining success or failure. Even if the new management is of excellent quality, the community should appreciate the magnitude of special problems facing a new firm and endeavor to smooth its path to success.

Relocations appear to be a poor type of concern for communities to try to attract. Firms which move their operations from one area to another failed more often and had a larger proportion of concerns with declining employment and a smaller proportion with greater employment than the new firms or branches. Several of the relocations included in this study seemed to bring many problems with them. Many did not appear to consider carefully all aspects of their new location before moving.

Communities trying to increase and diversify their factory employment should concentrate their efforts on industries which are growing and for which they can offer concrete advantages. Communities would also be well advised to make available more realistic information which presents the shortcomings as well as the advantages of their area so that firms considering the community will be able to appraise all factors as they relate to their operations. This will lessen the chances of running into unforeseen difficulties. This study showed that firms which made their location decisions on rational grounds, after carefully analyzing all location factors which had an important influence on their operations, enjoyed the greatest success.

Book Reviews

URBAN SOCIOLOGY. By Egon Ernest Bergel. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1955, pp. xii plus 588. $6.50.)

From prefatory statement to the final page of subject index, *Urban Sociology* is a meticulously prepared volume. It is refreshing to note the rich historical context that frames the entire work. The book seems to encompass a little of everything that belongs to a sociological treatment of city life, and no one aspect of the study is labored at any point. A nice equilibrium of descriptive and empirical treatment pervades throughout. Once in a while, however, a point is made that seems to beg for further clarification, e.g., "No American city's growth has been impeded by having to comply with strategic considerations." (p. 57)

Professor Bergel is at his best, in this reviewer's opinion, in his treatment on ecology (which he prefers to place under the label of "social geography"), and in his presentation of the major institutional forms that permeate urbanism. His focus here is on family, religion, recreation, and government, and Bergel unravels these modes of behavior in the true tradition of Wirth's framework of "urbanism as a way of life."

Subsequent sections on "urban pathology" (death, diseases, vice, crime, political corruption, slums), and on "therapy" (housing, planning, and community organization), are especially recommended to secondary social studies teachers of social problems who are constantly wrestling with the job of selection and presentation of this subject matter. They will find here hardhitting, factual materials judiciously well-written and provocatively couched.

Possibly Bergel might be criticized with his section on demography. He divides this section into two parts, "structure" and "dynamics." Under the heading of "structure," he treats classes, races and nationalities. Under "dynamics," he treats with the more traditional demographic data of population movements, including domestic migration and immigration. This reviewer finds no fault with his treatment of the latter data. But when one tries to place the class system, as well as races and nationalities, into a purely structural framework, depriving the analyses of these materials their operational involvement, i. e., the dynamics that spew forth, a serious limitation can easily set in. In all fairness, it should be noted that the author, despite his own arrangement of categorizing classes, races and nationalities under "structure," nevertheless does treat these data in a somewhat structural-functional context, and indeed no first-rate sociological analysis of these cultural dynamics could settle for less.

Much research and fine scholarship has gone into this volume. It is also obvious that great care has been given to format and readability. The result is not only good sociological study of urbanism, but is at the same time a history of the sociology of urban life.

Teachers College of Connecticut THEODORE I. LENN

THE MYTH OF ALL-DESTRUCTIVE FURY OF THE THIRTY-YEARS WAR. By Robert Ergang. (Pocono Pines, Pa.: The Craftsmen, 1956. 40 pp. $1.00.)

This concise forty page booklet quite effectively traces the origins, too widespread and uncritical acceptance, and necessary revision of one of history's "whoppers."

It is almost incredible that such a tale as this myth could have ever secured much credence; otherwise reputable historians readily repeated and embroidered the line that Germany was so devastated by the fury of the Thirty-Year War that she was a cultural morass for a century and a half after the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. What such writers did with figures like Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven, Leibnitz, Lessing, Schiller, *et al.*, is beyond comprehension, for these are certainly products of a long and great cultural tradition. Thanks now to the work of Ergang (fully documented), there is no further excuse for repetition of this old wives' tale; no longer should writers like Hayes and Gottschalk & Lach, in the college field, and Rogers & Adams & Brown for the secondary school level be taken in by such a myth.

University of Rhode Island DONALD TILTON

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACADEMIC FREEDOM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Richard Hofstadter and Walter P. Metzger. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. pp. xvi, 527. $5.50.)

This book undertakes to analyze the meaning of academic freedom and to describe its development in the changing cultural context of the United States.

The story begins in the Europe of the Middle Ages where scholars gradually carved out a sphere of intellectual freedom for themselves. The authors then explain how European ideals were transformed in the environment of the New World. They show how lack of qualified teachers led to the emergence of the President as the dominant figure in American academic organization. They give an account of the impact of Sectarianism, the German University, and war upon our educational ideals. Throughout the book a fine sensitivity is shown to the influence of academic organization and social pressures upon the educational process.

As Professor Robert M. MacIver shows in the companion volume, *Academic Freedom in Our Times*, our colleges and universities are vulnerable to transient and biased pressures from the community. We depend too heavily upon our college presidents for protection of our institutions of learning against those who would use them for selfish ends. Contrary to popular belief, the "ivory tower" is less well insulated against short-sighted demands that it needs to be if the ideal of responsible search for truth is to endure.

Hofstadter and Metzger remind us that academic freedom, like all forms of freedom, is a value whose consequences are not immediately apparent. For this very reason, it demands our special concern and protection.

Smith College — JOHN W. CHAPMAN

YOUR LIFE PLANS AND THE ARMED FORCES. Prepared under the direction of the Defense Committee of the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. (Washington, D. C.: American Council of Education, 1955. 149 pp. Text, $2.00; Handbook, $.60.)

Your Life Plans and the Armed Forces is the answer to the high school guidance counselor's quest for a unit of study designed to assist youth to make his educational and vocational plans in the light of his military obligation to the nation.

The unit is divided into two parts. Part one acquaints the student with his responsibilities and obligations under the Selective Service Act currently in force. It encourages him to establish career goals consistent with his abilities and shows him how service in the armed forces can contribute toward his life plans. Part two outlines the educational and training opportunities available to the serviceman in the Air Force, Army, Coast Guard, Marine Corps, and Navy.

Your Life Plans and the Armed Forces is a complete unit of study which will fit easily into any group guidance program. It can also be used as a handbook of information for school administrators who are charged with the responsibility of assisting young men and women with their life plans.

The text brings together in one volume for the first time all the information needed to counsel high school students in the opportunities offered by all branches of the armed forces. A Teachers Handbook accompanies the text.

East Providence (R. I.) High School — GEORGE E. BURKE

THE COLLEGE HANDBOOK, 1955-1956. By S. Donald Karl and Barbara L. Diehl, eds. (Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1955. 444 pp. $1.00.)

"Where can I find out what I need to know about several colleges before I make my choice?" is the frequent query directed by college-bound students to secondary school principals and guidance officials. The concise answer to this anxious question is, of course, *The College Handbook*, a publication of the C.E.E.B. compiled to aid school officials, students, and parents in making the difficult choice among institutions on a collegiate level. Between the paper covers of this 444 page book is contained per-

tinent information available usually only from a sizable library of college catalogues. The great convenience of the previous edition of the *Handbook* published in 1953 has made this publication a "must" in every school library. This 1955-56 edition brings up to date the rapidly changing information on tuition and scholarships as well as the additional listings for colleges recently adopting the entrance requirements of the College Board.

The most important section of the *Handbook* prints the statements by 169 member colleges of the C.E.EB., containing a description of the college, its terms of admission, study programs, degrees granted, freshman year requirements, expenses, and financial aids. New sections discuss the various kinds of financial aid opportunities which students should consider, and list the member colleges which offer early programs of admission and advanced course placement to entering students. A description of such recent scholarship programs as that of the National Merit Scholarship Corporation is included.

An altogether invaluable publication, *The College Handbook's* most surprising asset is its low list price which continues to be one dollar. So much information for so little money is rarely available even among highly advertised "book bargains."

Samuel Gorton Jr. High School, Warwick, R. I. MARY G. MUNSON

COLLEGE BOARD SCORES, NO. 2. By Henry S. Dyer and Richard G. King. Princeton, N. J.: Educational Testing Service, 1955. $1.50.)

This second edition of *College Board Scores* follows the earlier manual published two years ago and, by now, familiar to most school and college officials whose duties include use and understanding of the test scores. When it is realized that about 175,000 students took the test in the last academic year, the necessity of more widespread understanding of the meaning of the scores is evident.

In the revised edition, the same non-technical approach is used, reflecting the belief of Dr. Dyer that "testing tools and the data which they produce, all too often considered technically unapproachable by laymen, can be invaluable aids to school and college people who have little or no training in statistics but much responsibility for the counseling, admission and placement of students."

Although of prime interest to guidance officials, the data in the manual offer much information to academic instructors. Most particularly of value to those in the field of social studies are the sections dealing with the relationship of C.E.E.B. achievement scores with the training and study activities of the student while in high school. A questionnaire given to candidates taking the achievement tests in March, 1953, provided the information for the study.

A comparison of the high school social studies experiences with the

scores on the social studies achievement test and with the scholastic aptitude test-verbal score seems to indicate that students who had modern European history did better on both test scores than students who had studied world history. Readers are asked to defer judgment on this interpretation until further findings have been presented.

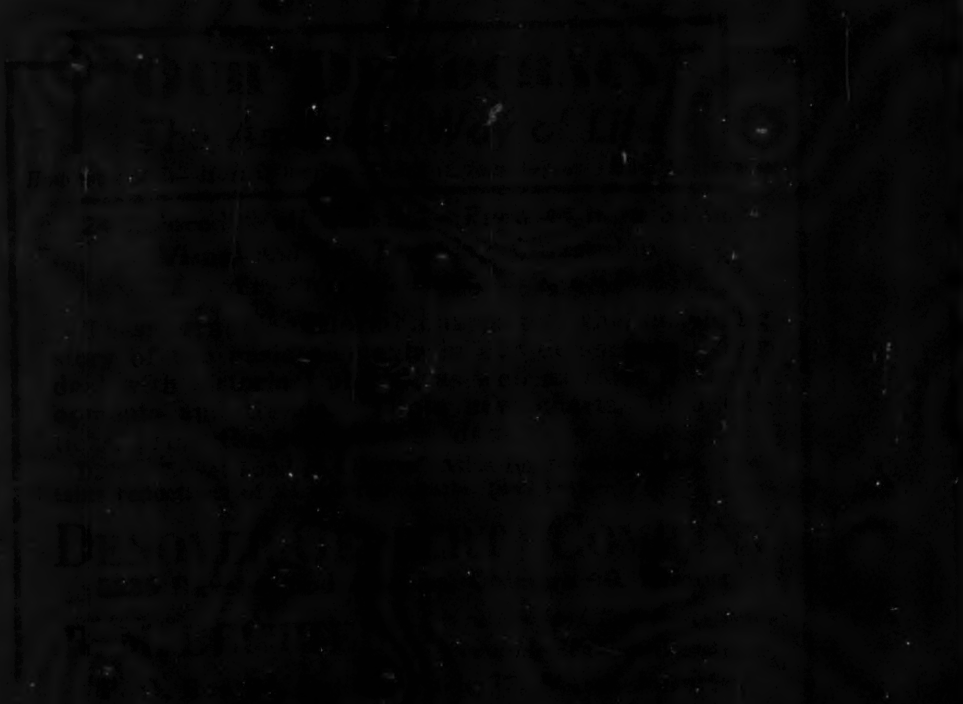
In another study of this type, efforts were made to determine whether a high school course in problems of democracy gave any relative advantage to students who took the social studies achievement test. The results indicate that a problem course offers no relative advantage to the student taking the test.

Further comparisons are made between achievement test scores earned by public school graduates and those earned by students of private schools. Active and non-active students in high school debating, history clubs, field trips, and supplementary reading were compared according to their test scores. The preliminary results are sometimes surprising and should be pondered carefully by those who have responsibility for the social studies curriculum in secondary schools.

This manual demonstrates simple, practical methods of combining score evidence with other criteria in guidance, selection, and course placement. It covers norms for junior and senior classes for public and independent school students, for boys and girls, for admitted and rejected candidates, and for science oriented students. Its careful perusal is rewarding to all school people who are interested in the relatively unexplored frontier that is represented by objective probings of the human intellect.

Samuel Gorton Junior High School, Warwick — MARY G. MUNSON

HISTORY-AS-ACTUALITY

(Continued from p. 6)

large life in the village gradually dimmed as the young people moved out and their parents died. In 1830 the last resident died in the cholera epidemic of that year, and the village, this 19th Century model of historical disorganization, came to a terminus for a brief century and a quarter. In recent years, it has sprung to life again—mills, stores, meetinghouses, and all five residences!